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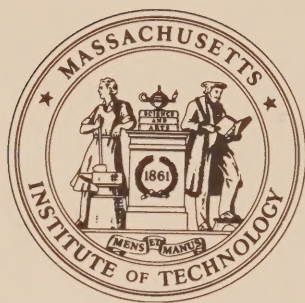
Radio free Europe

The image of Radio free Europe among  
Polish refugees and visitors...

1961

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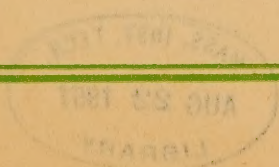
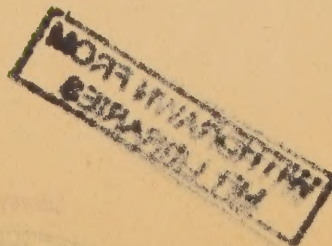
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**RADIO FREE EUROPE**

**AUDIENCE RESEARCH**

THE IMAGE OF RADIO FREE EUROPE  
AMONG POLISH REFUGEES AND VISITORS

(A Study on RFE's Effectiveness)

June 1961



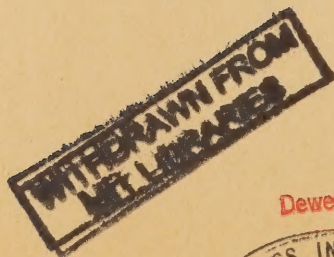


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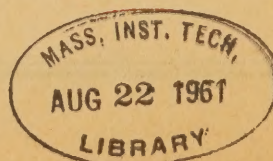
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Dewey



HUMANITIES



*Gift*

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*Humanities*





## SUMMARY OF MAIN FINDINGS

This report is based on interviews with almost 1,000 Polish visitors and refugees in the West, who left Poland between April 1958 and March 1961. The respondents were grouped in two samples, one preponderantly refugee and the second preponderantly visitor.

(1) More than half of all the interviewees consider that it is RFE's main task to broadcast true and objective information about current events. The second most important task, according to both samples, is to unmask the communist regime, to point to its mistakes, to correct the distorted picture provided by Polish regime media and to fight communism.

(2) Whereas a third of the Polish respondents who arrived in the West prior to May 1960 considered broadcasting information about the West as one of RFE's main tasks, only 17 per cent of the sample interviewed during the past twelve months held this opinion. (Visitors dominated in the 1960 sampling).

(3) While refugees attached considerable importance to RFE's keeping the listeners' spirit alive, visitors appeared less concerned with this task, while placing greater emphasis on RFE's "Polish character". Nearly half of the visitors allocated various "Polish tasks" to RFE, compared to about a quarter of the refugees. Ten per cent of the preponderantly visitor sample went so far as to say that one of RFE's main tasks is "to promote the Polish cause in the West" and more than half said that this station was "very much concerned with Polish affairs."

(4) Three quarters of the earlier sample considered that RFE had to a considerable extent succeeded in fulfilling its major tasks and had helped to increase the number of anti-communists in Poland. Respondents







ascribed this effectiveness mainly to RFE's anti-communism and influence rather than to the fact that it broadcasts information about the West.

(5) As far as accuracy is concerned, BBC appears to enjoy a better reputation than RFE. On the other hand, a large proportion of respondents considered RFE to be more "forceful" than other Western broadcasters.

(6) The majority of the respondents had no doubt that RFE was the most influential Western station in Poland. This view was held by most people with secondary and university education, regardless of whether they were visitors or refugees. Among people with elementary education, greater emphasis is placed on RFE's influence by refugees than by visitors.

(7) The following reasons (in rank order) were given by respondents for RFE's preponderant influence in Poland compared to other stations:

- a. all day broadcasting and good reception
- b. the length and comprehensiveness of its program schedule
- c. the fact that it is the most popular station and is most listened to; its Polish character.

#### The Sample

This report is based on two samples. The first (to be called S 1) consists of 484 respondents who were interviewed during the period April 1958 to September 1960. It is estimated that up to four fifths of the interviewees were refugees who left Poland at the beginning of 1958 at the earliest and in June 1960 at the latest. The remainder were visitors.

The second sample (to be called S 2) consists of 490 respondents who were interviewed during the period between May 1960 and the end of March 1961. A majority of 75 per cent of this sample were visitors and only 25 per cent were refugees. A detailed breakdown of the two samples will be found in the Annex.







## MAIN TASKS OF RFE

The respondents in both samples were asked to state what they thought to be the main tasks of RFE. Before considering their replies, it should be realized that respondents approached this question from two points of view: they considered not only what RFE's tasks actually were, but also what in their opinion they should be. Thus the image of RFE reflected in these answers is composed of listeners' perceptions as well as of their wishes and suggestions. A typical example is the demand that RFE "should promote the Polish cause in the West", listed by 10 per cent of the S 2 sample as an RFE task. The differences between the tasks ascribed to RFE by visitors and refugees also reveal that listeners took their own particular interests into account when replying to this question.

Table 1

What do you think are the main tasks of RFE broadcasts to your country ?

	S 1 %	S 2 %
To give true and objective information about current events	56	52
To unmask the communist regime, point out its mistakes, correct communist lies and distorted picture given by home media, fight communism	41	33
To describe life in the West, the Western point of view; to maintain contact with the West	29	17
To keep people's spirit alive and help them resist communism	28	16
To maintain contact between Poles in the West and the homeland; to describe their life	8	11
To broadcast about events in Poland and Poland's position in the world and to comment	13	10
To draw comparisons between life in the West and in Poland	7	*
To educate	15	11
To cultivate Polish traditions	1	9
To mold public opinion	*	4
To entertain	10	6
To promote the Polish cause in the West	*	10
Other answers	12	7
Don't know, no answer	<u>10</u>	<u>31</u>
Total **	230%	217%
Number of cases	484	490

\* less than 1 %

\*\* more than 100 % because of multiple answers







The figures contained in Table 1 display in many respects a significant similarity, particularly remarkable if we consider that S 1 consisted mainly of refugees and S 2 mainly of visitors and that there is an appreciable interviewing time interval. The slightly lower percentages in the S 2 column stem from the fact that the S 1 respondents mentioned on an average at least two tasks, while listeners of the S 2 group averaged slightly less (1.8) than two answers. Also there were more "don't know" answers among S 2.

More than half of the respondents in both samples considered that the main task of RFE was to broadcast true and objective information about current events. They did not limit the scope of this information to any particular area, so it may be assumed that they included both news about the West and news about the East under this heading. About a tenth of both samples, however, did specifically mention that RFE's task was also to broadcast about events in Poland.

Great stress was laid by both samples on RFE's anti-communist character. Forty-one per cent of S 1 and a third of S 2 said that one of RFE's main tasks was to "unmask the communist regime, point out its mistakes, correct communist lies and the distorted picture given by home media and to fight communism". These tasks rank second in importance after objective news, and, it would seem, quite clearly allocate to RFE polemical functions.

The rank order of the third and fourth most important tasks of RFE is still the same for both samples, but at this point we reach a considerable difference in emphasis. Almost a third of S 1 said one of RFE's main tasks was "to describe life in the West, the Western point of view and to maintain contact with the West", and an additional 7 per cent added "to draw comparisons between life in the West and in Poland." However, only 17 per cent of S 2 listed this task. The difference cannot be ascribed to the preponderantly "visitor character" of S 2, as actually a lower proportion of refugees than visitors mentioned the task in sample 2. Most probably it is the fact that over the past four years so many Poles have personally travelled to the West that now more reliance is placed on direct or reported experiences in the West, than was the case earlier.\*

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\* Twelve out of a random sample of 100 members of the S 2 group said they derived most of their knowledge about the West from personal observation or contacts with people who had visited the West, but only 2 per cent of S 1 gave this explanation.







The task of "keeping people's spirits alive and helping them to resist communism" retains fourth place, but here again it was mentioned by almost a third of S 1 but only 16 per cent of S 2. In this case, however, a definite refugee bias is revealed: Among the S 2 group this task was listed by 44 per cent of the refugees and only 8 per cent of the visitors (see Table on page 22). Evidently more visitors, many of whom are participants in comparatively costly tours, find their situation relatively satisfactory or are able to use other "morale-boosting" devices than radio, though they still look to RFE as a source of information and comment.

If we group all the purely Polish tasks together (excluding for this purpose the anti-communist tasks, which of course are also largely Polish, inasmuch as they deal with the situation in Poland), we find that 22 per cent of S 1 and 40 per cent of S 2 gave the following answers: "To maintain contact between Poles in the West and the homeland;" "To describe their lives "; "To broadcast about events in Poland and Poland's position in the world, and comment"; "To cultivate Polish traditions"; "To promote the Polish cause in the West". The breakdown in the table on page 22 reveals that this increased emphasis on Polish tasks is particularly pronounced among the visitors in S 2, 43 per cent of whom listed them as compared to 29 per cent of the refugees in that sample. It is probably understandable that people who planned to return to Poland were more concerned with this problem than people who had decided to remain in the West.

An entirely novel task accorded to RFE by 10 per cent of S 2 is "To promote the Polish cause in the West". Perhaps this more than anything else provides evidence of RFE's image as a "Polish station" in the eyes of its listeners. The twelve percent of the visitors (compared to only 2 per cent of the refugees) and the 14 per cent of the people with secondary education in S 2 who listed this "task" were evidently convinced that RFE has Polish interests at heart -- or at least that its role is to promote these interests. Three respondents (who have been included among "other answers") actually went so far as to say that RFE's task was "to organize financial aid for Poland"!

It will also be noted from the table on p.9 that respondents from S 2 were asked whether the description "is very much concerned with Poland" fits RFE, BBC, or VOA best. Fifty-seven per cent said that it fitted RFE best, while only 9 and 14 per cent considered it applicable respectively to BBC and VOA. At the same time, only 1 per cent said RFE "is not very much concerned with Poland", while





8 per cent and 4 per cent respectively thought so of BBC and VOA. Respondents in S 1 were not asked this question but 78 per cent of them said that RFE "spoke to us as one of us" and 80 per cent thought that RFE "reflected the opinions of the population".

Nearly three quarters of the S 1 respondents who listed RFE tasks thought that RFE had succeeded completely or to a considerable extent in fulfilling them. A fifth said that it had only partly succeeded, and five per cent thought it had not succeeded at all or only to a very limited degree. Unfortunately, only a very insignificant number of people explained their answers to this question.

The S 1 respondents were asked additionally whether they thought RFE helped to increase the number of anti-communists in Poland, whether it did the reverse or whether it had nothing to do with the situation.

Table II

The majority of people in your country are already anti-communists; does RFE help increase this number? Does it contribute to its decrease? Or does this number remain constant because of RFE? Or has RFE nothing to do with this situation?

Increase	74 %
Decrease	1 %
Constant	4 %
Nothing to do with it	7 %
Don't know, no answer	14 %
Total	100 %
Number of cases	484

The above table shows that three quarters of the sample thought that RFE helped to increase the number of anti-communists. The remarkably low percentage (14 %) of "don't know" answers to a complicated question of this kind would seem further to reinforce the impression that this image of RFE effectiveness is particularly clear in the eyes of respondents. And in





particular it shows their belief in RFE's successful fulfillment of what, according to them, is RFE's second most important task namely, its anti-communist line of broadcasting.

A third of the respondents specifically mentioned the anti-communist line when asked to explain why they thought that RFE helped to increase the number of anti-communists in Poland (see the table on page 24). Twenty per cent said this was due to "RFE's great influence and ability to convince", and 17 per cent that it was "because people learn the truth from RFE and understand things much better and sometimes change their opinions after listening to RFE."

Only five per cent ascribed RFE's effectiveness in this respect to the fact that it broadcasts information about the West.

#### RFE'S POLITICAL IMAGE

Only respondents from S 1 were given a card listing six "political positions"; they then were asked which of them they thought would best characterize RFE, VOA, and BBC.

Table III

How would you characterize the political position of RFE, VOA, and BBC ?	<u>RFE</u>	<u>BBC</u>	<u>VOA</u>
Extreme left	1%	-	-
Moderate left	3%	2%	2%
Moderate right	26%	16%	15%
Extreme right	9%	3%	13%
Center	14%	17%	6%
Non-political	2%	7%	1%
Other	1%	1%	1%
Don't know, no answer	44%	54%	62%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Number of cases	484	484	484





Nearly half the sample did not or could not answer this question, which was, admittedly, rather difficult, particularly for Poles in whose country the terms "leftist" and "rightist" have different meanings when used by different people. For example, the liberal communists during the October 1956 bloodless coup called themselves "leftists" and dubbed the Stalinists as "rightists". At the same time, regime propaganda constantly uses rightist as a derogatory epithet equivalent to reactionary.

The table shows that a quarter of the respondents characterized RFE's political position as "moderate right" and 14 per cent as "center". Nine per cent chose the description "extreme right", and three per cent "moderate left."

The respondents found it even more difficult to answer this question in relation to BBC and VOA. More than half of them were unable to describe BBC's political position and 62 per cent VOA's.

Sixteen and seventeen per cent described BBC's position respectively as "moderate right" and "center". Seven per cent said it was non-political (compared to 2 per cent in the case of RFE and 1 per cent in the case of VOA)

VOA, on the other hand, appears to have a much more rightist image than either RFE or BBC. Its position was defined by 15 per cent of the sample as "moderate right", by 13 per cent as "extreme right" and only by 6 per cent as "center" (the relevant figures for RFE are 26 per cent, 9 per cent and 14 per cent).

Though the differences are not very large, the respondents tended to characterize RFE as slightly more "rightist" than BBC, and VOA as more "rightist" than RFE.

The respondents who answered this question were then asked to explain their answers. Only about three quarters of them were able to do so, and then often in vague terms. Tables setting out the answers will be found in the annex.

Of those who said RFE was "moderately rightist", a quarter explained that this was "because the contents of the programs indicate it", and thirteen per cent said it was "because RFE represents the interests of Western democracy." The confusion in the approach to this question emerges when the reasons explaining why respondents considered RFE "extreme rightist" or "center" were given. In the former case, 40 per cent said it was because "RFE is anti-communist", and in the latter "because the station is neutral and objective





and tells the truth"! That an extreme rightist position should be explained by anti-communism betrays a measure of susceptibility to regime propaganda rather surprising among a group which, it will be remembered, consists predominantly of refugees. In the case of VOA, 38 per cent of those who described its position as "extreme right", explained that this was because VOA is anti-communist or "pro-capitalist".

Respondents found it still more difficult to explain why they characterized BBC's political position in the way they did. A third of those who expressed the opinion that BBC was "non-political", said they thought this was so because BBC "is neutral, objective and tells the truth". A third of those respondents who said BBC's position was "center" felt that "the content of its programs indicated it."

The S 2 respondents were not asked this question but instead were shown a card stating that RFE,BBC,VOA is "forceful","very accurate","very much concerned with Poland", or "not forceful","not very accurate" and "not very much concerned with Poland".

Table IV  
S 2

Which of these descriptions fits RFE, BBC,VOA best?

	<u>RFE</u>	<u>BBC</u>	<u>VOA</u>
Is forceful	45%	16%	21%
Is very accurate	30%	36%	8%
Is very much concerned with Poland	57%	9%	14%
Is not forceful	2%	4%	2%
Is not very accurate	8%	1%	8%
Is not very much concerned with Poland	1%	8%	4%
Other answers	-	*	-
Don't know, no answer	34%	56%	68%
Total **	177%	130%	125%
Number of cases	490	490	490

\* Less than  $\frac{1}{2}$  %

\*\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers





Although a large number of people did not answer this question (a third of the sample in the case of RFE, over half in the case of BBC and two thirds in the case of VOA), differences in the images of the three stations stand out quite clearly from the figures set out in the table on page 9.

First of all, there is the emphasis on RFE's concern with Poland, already discussed above in the section on "Tasks of RFE". It will be seen that while 57 per cent of the respondents considered RFE very much concerned with Poland, only 9 per cent ascribed such concern to BBC and 14 per cent to VOA. Also 8 per cent found BBC was "not very much concerned with Poland", and only 1 per cent thought this of RFE and 4 per cent of VOA.

RFE was also considered as the most forceful station (the Polish word used was "dosadny"). While 45 per cent of the respondents thought this description fitted RFE best, the respective figures for BBC and VOA were 16 and 21 per cent.

As far as accuracy is concerned BBC leads, with 36 per cent of the respondents describing it as "very accurate". RFE follows with 30 per cent, while VOA is third with 8 per cent on this count. However, if we calculate the percentages on a total which included only the respondents who answered this question in respect of each station (i.e. excluding "don't know" answers), we obtain a somewhat different picture:

Table IV a			
	<u>RFE</u>	<u>BBC</u>	<u>VOA</u>
Is very accurate	43 %	81 %	24 %
Is not very accurate	11 %	3 %	24 %
Number of cases	322	218	156

In view of the fact that 52 per cent of this sample (S 2) listed "to give true and objective information about current events" as one of





RFE's main task, this station's accuracy image must be considered a very important factor. It will be noted from the table on page 10 that somewhat less than half of the people who expressed an opinion on the subject thought that RFE was "very accurate", eighty per cent thought this of BBC and 25 per cent of VOA. Thus BBC still enjoys an exceptionally good reputation as far as reliability is concerned.

On the other hand when this question was put negatively, only 11 per cent of the respondents found that RFE was "not very accurate". The respective figures for BBC and VOA were 3 per cent and 24 per cent.

It should be emphasized that respondents were asked whether these stations were very accurate ("bardzo scisle"), or not very accurate ("nie bardzo scisle"). Very accurate of course means more than just accurate.

If we compare the images of RFE and BBC that emerge from the answers to this question, we find that the dominant characteristics of RFE are "forcefulness" and "concern with Poland", while the dominant characteristic of BBC is accuracy. A high rating for accuracy does not seem to be an essential prerequisite for influence, as will be seen from the findings discussed in the following section, which shows that RFE is considered more influential than BBC.





## RFE'S INFLUENCE

Table V

Which of the three -RFE, VOA , BBC- has the most influence on people in your country? (S1)

Which Western radio station has the most influence on people in your country? (S2)

	<u>S 1</u>	<u>S 2</u>
RFE	55 %	43 %
BBC	13 %	10 %
VOA	4 %	5 %
RFE and BBC are equally influential	14 %	12 %
RFE and VOA are equally influential	3 %	3 %
Other answers	1 %	3 %
None	-	2 %
Don't know,no answer	10 %	22 %
Total	100 %	100 %
Number of cases	484	490

Both samples were asked which Western station has the most influence on people in Poland. In the case of S 1, respondents were asked to choose between RFE, VOA and BBC, but in the case of S 2 specific names of Western stations were not suggested. It is remarkable how little difference there is between the answers of the two samples.

It will be seen from the above table that the rank order so far as the variant "influence" is concerned is the same in both samples. If the figures are corrected by the answers of respondents who mentioned two stations as equally influential, the rank order does not change.\*

\* If the "equally influential" figures are apportioned, we obtain the following results:

	<u>S 1</u>	<u>S 2</u>
RFE	72 %	58 %
BBC	27 %	22 %
VOA	7 %	8 %





The proportions of respondents in S 1 and S 2 who said BBC or VOA were most influential or that RFE and BBC or RFE and VOA are equally influential, are so similar that they can be treated as practically identical. However, while 55 per cent of S 1 said RFE was the most influential station in Poland, the number of respondents from S 2 who said so amounted to 43 per cent. This statistically not very significant difference may be partly due to the fact that 22 per cent of S 2 (compared to 10 per cent of S 1) were unable to answer the question at all and partly due to the fact that RFE was mentioned in first place in the formulation of the question put to S 1 and not mentioned at all in the question put to S 2.

Further examination of the data as it appears in the table on p. 30 in the Statistical Annex, shows that whereas 60 per cent of the refugees in S 2 rated RFE as the most influential station, the proportion of visitors who did so was 40 per cent. Also 24 per cent of the visitors answered "don't know" compared to 16 per cent of the refugees. When this is considered, the difference is possibly explained, since the relevant S 2 figures pertaining to refugee answers approximate the S 1 figures, and S 1 is predominantly a refugee sample.

In this context a look at the educational background of respondents in the two samples is perhaps also revealing. Among the predominantly refugee S 1 respondents it was the people with elementary education who gave the highest proportion (60 per cent) of answers stating that RFE was the most influential Western station in Poland. Among the predominantly visitor S 2 group however, only a third of the people with elementary education (compared to 55 per cent of respondents with secondary and 53 per cent of the respondents with university education) gave RFE this high rating.

This would indicate a higher belief in RFE's influence among refugee or potential refugee (disaffected) workers. We may hazard the conjecture that Polish workers who travel to the West as visitors (mostly to visit relatives) with the intention of returning to Poland, would include a higher proportion of irregular listeners than workers planning to defect. Consequently they would have a less clear picture of the differences between RFE, VOA, and BBC. However, this speculation has still to be confirmed, which will only be possible when all of the available material is fully processed.





The belief in the preponderant influence of RFE among respondents with secondary or higher education did not differ significantly between the two samples. The Table below shows this clearly:

Table V a

	S 1			S 2		
	<u>Elementary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>University</u>	<u>Elementary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>University</u>
RFE	60%	58%	50%	35%	55%	43%
VOA	3%	4%	3%	5%	4%	3%
BBC	7%	21%	32%	11%	12%	10%
RFE & BBC	14%	13%	17%	12%	12%	15%
RFE & VOA	4%	4%	2%	-	2%	3%
Don't know	12%	9%	8%	28%	15%	19%

The above table also shows that the relatively high belief in BBC's influence among respondents with secondary and higher education (as contrasted to those with elementary education) in the predominantly refugee sample is not shared to the same extent by the predominantly visitor sample.

To sum up: the majority of respondents in both samples who were able to answer this question had no doubt that RFE is the most influential Western station in Poland. This view was held by most people with secondary and university education, regardless of whether they were visitors or refugees. There is a tendency, however, among the better educated refugees to rate BBC's influence higher than is the case among the better educated visitors. Among people with elementary education, on the other hand, greater emphasis is placed on RFE's preponderant influence by the refugees than by the visitors.

Respondents were also asked "Why do you feel that RFE or VOA or BBC has the most influence among your countrymen?", but only the replies of S 1 are so far available. They are fully set out in Table on page 29 Statistical Annex. In the Table on page 15 they have been grouped together in four categories:





Table VI

Why do you feel that RFE or VOA or BBC has the most influence among your countrymen ?

(S 1 only)

	<u>RFE</u>	<u>VOA</u>	<u>BBC</u>
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
For technical reasons (it broadcasts all day, is easy to listen to, has a comprehensive schedule, etc.)	39	24	12
Because it is listened to most, is most popular, evokes greatest response, people are used to it	36	12	60
Because of its true and objective and timely information in which people have confidence	15	30	26
Because of its Polish character, its interest in Polish affairs, etc.	21	4	2
Other answers	18	46*	8
Don't know, no answer	11	27	8
Total **	140	143	116
Number of cases***	353	40	131

\* includes 22 % "Because it represents the United States"

\*\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers

\*\*\* Only those who mentioned the particular station

The above table lists the main "reasons" which respondents said prompted them to list a particular station as having the greatest influence on their countrymen.

For RFE, which as we have seen already most people chose, the outstanding reasons were: (a) technical accessibility and comprehensiveness of program,



- (b) the already existing image of the most popular station which evokes a circular response, and
- (c) the Polish character of the station, (a factor which seems to crop up at almost every juncture).

BBC's preponderant quality according to those who said it had the greatest influence is its popular image. Half of the respondents who considered BBC the most influential Western station explained that this was so because "it is listened to most, is most popular, etc." The second reason why BBC was singled out by 26 per cent of the respondents was that station's objectivity. Only 2 per cent listed interest in Polish affairs, compared to 21 per cent in the case of RFE and 4 per cent in the case of VOA.

Seven per cent of the sample (SL) mentioned VOA as the most influential station. One of the most frequently mentioned reasons for this influence was the fact that "VOA represents the United States."

\* \* \*

The findings discussed in the preceding sections indicate that the majority of the 1000 Poles interviewed had a rather clear image of RFE and its institutional and functional aspects. The picture that emerges is of a widely familiar station, very much concerned with Poland and deeply involved in the anti-communist struggle, but regarded primarily as a source of reliable information. This is so despite the fact that on the one hand there seems to be some doubt about RFE's accuracy, and on the other RFE is credited as having increased the number of anti-communists in Poland.

Projection of the West seems to be a less important component of RFE's image and tasks than one and two years ago, probably as a result of increased and direct "Western" experience on the part of larger numbers of people of the type that make up the majority of the sample.





The majority of respondents, both refugee and visitor, consider RFE to be the most influential Western station in Poland, and ascribe this fact to the length of broadcasting time, to RFE's popularity and again to its Polish character.

It is remarkable, particularly in view of the fact that there must be a considerable proportion of at least card-carrying communists among the visitors, that RFE's image does not include any (at least overtly expressed ) suspicions of ulterior motives. Hardly any respondents ascribed "subversive" or "imperialistic" tasks to RFE, even in guarded terms, although as will be shown in another study many of them clearly remembered the themes of the attacks on RFE in regime media.

The image of RFE as an unofficial station representing no clear-cut foreign interests, but very much concerned with the fate of the Polish people, probably accounts largely for this station's influence and popularity.

The findings would seem to indicate that a further "Westward" shift of emphasis on the part of RFE may tend to make this station less readily distinguishable from other major Western broadcasters, whose influence in Poland, the same findings show, is considerably smaller than that of RFE.

If this is so, then the "positive" and resultant effectiveness of RFE's image can be maintained only if this station continues to strike the right balance between projection of the West and interest in and concern for Polish affairs.





STATISTICAL ANNEX



Description of Sample 1

<u>AGE:</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
0 - 35 years	68
36- 59 years	29
60 years and over	2
No answer	1
	<hr/>
	100

EDUCATION:

Elementary education	24
Secondary education	40
University	35
No answer	1
	<hr/>
	100

OCCUPATION:

Professionals	24
White collar workers	30
Workers	25
Farmers	1
Not employed	2
Students	12
Others	5
No answer	1
	<hr/>
	100

Number of cases	484
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Description of Sample 2

<u>STATUS:</u>	<u>Per cent</u>
Visitors	76
Refugees	24
	<hr/>
	100

<u>AGE:</u>	
up to 35 years	60
36 to 59 years	38
60 years and over	2
	<hr/>
	100

<u>EDUCATION:</u>	
Elementary education	17
Secondary education	32
University education	41
No answer	<hr/> 10
	100
Number of cases	490





# Sample 1

What do you think are the main tasks of RFE, VOA, BBC broadcasts to your country?

	<u>RFE</u>	<u>VOA</u>	<u>BBC</u>
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
To inform, to give a true and objective picture of events and comment about them	56	37	46
To point out the mistakes of the communist regime and to unmask communism; to set straight wrong information given by the communist regime; to provide an opposition and compete with home media. Talk about matters passed over in silence at home.	41	23	20
To inform the audience about the West (USA ,UK) and give the American (British) point of view	29	24	22
To keep people's hope alive, to help them to resist communism	28	15	13
To maintain contact between Poles in the West and in the homeland; to report about Poles in the West	8	11	10
To provide information about the situation in Poland	13	6	5
Entertainment	10	8	8
To draw comparisons between life in the West and in Poland	7	5	4
To educate, provide education about progress in science, economy, and technology; to bring Western ideas to Poland	15	7	9
To cultivate Polish national traditions	1	1	1
Other answers	12	6	8
Don't know, no answer	10	33	28
Total*	230	176	174
Number of cases		484	

\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers



Sample 1

Do you feel RFE, VOA, BBC have succeeded or failed to succeed in fulfilling these tasks ?

	<u>RFE</u>	<u>VOA</u>	<u>BBC</u>
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Completely	58	49	55
To a considerable extent	14	10	10
Only partly	19	25	20
A little or not at all	5	6	6
Don't know, no answer	4	10	9
<hr/>			
Total	100	100	100
Number of cases *	434	323	346

\* Only those who mentioned main tasks for RFE, VOA and BBC





	Age				Status				Education			
	0 - 35		36 - 59		60 & over		Visitors Refugees		Elementary		Secondary	
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Total	52	53	52	43	50	60	32	70	57			
To give true and objective information about current events	17	17	17	14	13	9	7	19	19			
To describe life in the West, the Western point of view; to maintain contact with the West	14	13	16	14	8	44	15	25	8			
To keep people's spirit alive --	12	12	13	-	12	14	6	22	10			
To unmask the communist regime and point out its mistakes	11	15	6	-	13	4	4	12	16			
To maintain contact between Poles abroad and the homeland; to describe their life	11	9	13	29	9	16	11	16	10			
To fight communism--	11	11	11	29	12	9	6	19	9			
To educate the youth in Poland	10	13	6	14	11	8	5	13	8			
To correct communist lies and the distorted picture given by Polish media	10	10	8	14	12	2	9	14	8			
To promote the Polish cause in the West	10	9	10	14	9	13	7	14	8			
To broadcast and comment about events in Poland and Poland's position in the World	9	12	6	14	9	10	6	16	7			
To uphold Polish traditions	6	6	7	-	6	7	2	10	6			
To entertain	4	4	5	-	4	6	1	8	5			
To mold public opinion	2	1	3	-	2	3	-	2	3			
To encourage resistance to regime	7	8	4	-	8	3	2	6	9			
Other answers	31	34	27	43	36	18	46	24	30			
Don't know, no answer	217	227	204	228	214	226	159	290	213			
Total *	490	295	188	7	373	117	82	157	200			
Number of cases												

\*More than 100 % because of multiple answers





RFE's Image \*

Sample 1

RFE is:

	<u>always</u>	<u>frequently</u>	<u>infrequently</u>	<u>never</u>	<u>don't know</u>	<u>Total</u>
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Reliable	43	43	2	1	11	100
Dull (tedious)	1	7	46	36	10	100
Hard hitting	36	46	4	1	13	100
Objective	37	40	8	2	13	100
Tells the truth	49	39	1	1	10	100
Spoke to us as one of us	47	31	8	2	12	100
Knew what was and what was not possible to achieve	42	36	6	1	15	100
Responsible	55	27	2	1	15	100
Exaggerating	2	9	43	36	10	100
Reflected the opinions of the population	36	46	6	1	11	100
Informative	54	29	4	1	12	100
Said what we wanted to hear	37	46	4	2	11	100
Tendentious	13	17	32	20	18	100
Talking down to its listeners	2	4	19	61	14	100
Out of touch	2	6	35	47	10	100
Said what we knew anyway	1	10	48	30	11	100

\* Number of cases 472 (Listeners to Western stations only)



# Sample 1

The majority of people in your country are already anti-communists; does RFE help increase this number? Does it contribute to its decrease? Or does this number remain constant because of RFE ? Or has RFE nothing to do with this situation?

	<u>Per cent</u>
Increase	74
Decrease	1
Constant	4
Has nothing to do with it	7
Don't know, no answer	14
	<hr/>
Total	100
Number of cases	484

Why does RFE help to increase the number of anti-communists ?

	<u>Per cent</u>
Because of the effect of the information transmitted	5
Because people learn the truth from it and understand things much better. Sometimes people change their opinions after listening to RFE	17
Because of its anti-communist propaganda; it unmasks communism	33
Because it has great influence and is able to convince	20
Because even communists listen to it	4
Because of its information about the West; people see the great differences in political and living conditions	5
Because it is a Polish radio station	1
Because every anti-communist voice is good	1
Because of its information about the homeland and Russia	1
It maintains hope	1
Miscellaneous answers	11
Don't know, no answer	11
	<hr/>
T o t a l *	110
Number of cases **	357

\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers

\*\* Only those who said that RFE helps to increase the number of anti-communists





How would you characterize  
RFE's political position ?

	Extreme left	Moderate left	Moderate right	Extreme right	Center	Non-political	Other
Why would you characterize RFE's political position this way?	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Because this station is anticommunist	33	-	12	40	1	15	-
Because the content of its programs indicates this	33	6	22	38	9	-	-
Because this station represents the interests of Western democracy	-	6	13	2	6	-	25
Because this station is neutral and objective and tells the truth	-	-	2	-	31	28	25
Because this station appeals to all segments of the population	-	13	-	-	3	15	-
Because this station is moderate	-	6	4	-	10	-	-
Because that was my impression	-	6	9	7	7	-	-
Because this station has a very strong American orientation	-	-	2	2	-	-	-
Because this station is pro-capitalistic	-	-	2	5	-	-	-
Miscellaneous answers	34	38	13	17	11	14	-
Don't know, no answer	-	25	24	10	23	28	50
Total *	100	100	103	121	101	100	100
Number of cases **	3	16	127	42	70	7	4

\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers

\*\* Only those who characterized RFE's political position in this way



Sample 1

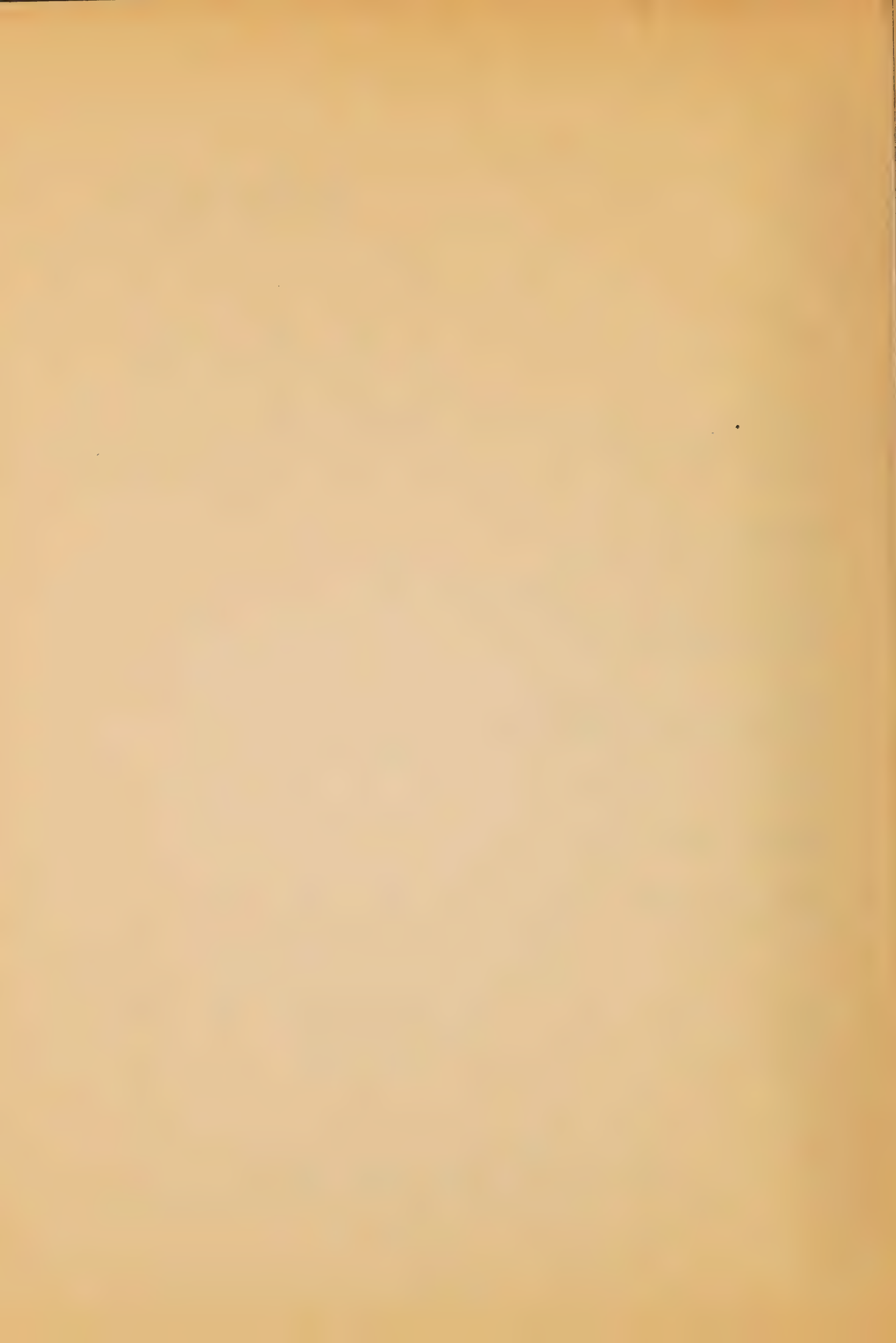
How would you characterize  
BBC's political position ?

Why would you characterize  
BBC's political position  
this way?

	Moderate left	Moderate right	Extreme right	Center	Non-political
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Because this station is neutral and objective and tells the truth	11	3	6	13	30
Because this station is anticommunist	-	10	23	-	9
Because the contents of its programs indicates this	-	9	35	34	3
Because this station is moderate	-	14	-	2	3
Because this station represents the interests of Western democracy	11	8	-	2	3
Because that was my impression	-	13	-	10	9
Because this station is procapitalistic	-	1	6	-	-
Miscellaneous answers	56	21	23	18	18
Don't know, no answer	22	21	29	21	28
Total *	100	100	122	100	103
Number of cases **	9	77	17	82	33

\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers

\*\* Only those who characterized BBC's political position in this way





How would you characterize  
VOA's political position ?

	Moderate left	Moderate right	Extreme right	Center	Nonpolitical
Why would you characterize VOA's political position this way ?	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Because this station is anticommunist	11	12	25	-	-
Because the content of its programs indicates this	11	19	11	11	-
Because this station has a very strong American orientation	22	6	8	7	-
Because this station is neutral and objective and tells the truth	-	5	-	29	28
Because that was my impression	11	13	3	7	-
Because this station is procapitalistic	-	1	13	4	-
Because this station is moderate	-	6	-	4	-
Because this station appeals to all segments of the population	-	-	2	7	-
Because this station represents the interest of Western democracy	-	5	3	4	-
Miscellaneous answers	34	12	13	7	44
Don't know, no answer	11	21	29	25	28
Total *	100	100	107	105	100
Number of cases**	9	77	61	28	7

\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers

\*\* Only those who characterized VOA's political position in this way



Sample 1

Which of the three -RFE, VOA, BBC - has the most influence in people in your country ?

	<u>A g e</u>			<u>E d u c a t i o n</u>					<u>No answer</u>	
	<u>0 - 35</u>	<u>36 - 59</u>	<u>60 &amp; over</u>	<u>Elementary</u>	<u>Secondary</u>	<u>University</u>				
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent		
RFE	51	65	75	60	58	50		25		
VOA	4	2	-	3	4	3		25		
BBC	14	9	25	6	11	19		25		
RFE and BBC are equally influential	15	14	-	14	13	17		-		
RFE and VOA are equally influential	3	3	-	4	4	2		-		
Other answers	2	1	-	1	1	1		-		
Don't know no answer	11	6	-	12	9	8		25		
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100		100		
Number of cases	332	140	8	118	193	169		4		





Sample 1

Why do you feel that RFE, VOA, BBC has the most influence among your countrymen?

	<u>RFE</u>	<u>VOA</u>	<u>BBC</u>
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent
Most interested in Polish affairs and has best coverage of the situation	5	2	-
Because it is listened to most; because it is most popular and has the greatest response among people	35	12	57
Because it has the most complete and interesting program schedule and covers all problems	18	12	5
Because it broadcasts throughout the day and is easy to listen to	15	2	1
Because its broadcasts are most attuned to the Polish mentality	8	-	2
Because of its true and objective information; because people have confidence in its broadcasts	14	30	24
Because it is a truly Polish station and broadcasts in Polish	6	2	-
Because reception of this station is better than of the others	6	10	5
Because it is so anti-communist	3	2	-
Because the broadcasts are timely	1	-	2
Because Poles are employed at this station	2	-	-
Because it appeals to all segments of the population	6	-	2
Because it represents the United States, the greatest power in the world	1	22	-
Because it has been longest in operation and people are used to it. Old habit	1	-	3
Miscellaneous answers	8	22	7
Don't know, no answer	11	27	8
Total*	140	143	116
Number of cases**	353	40	131

\* More than 100 % because of multiple answers

\*\* Only those who mentioned a certain station



Which Western radio station has the most influence on people in your country ?

	A g e			S t a t u s			E d u c a t i o n										
	0 - 35		36 - 59	60 & over		Refugees		Visitors		Elementary		Secondary		University		No answer	
	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	Per cent	
RFE	43	43	42	43	40	60	40	35	55	53	14						
BBC	10	11	8	14	10	9	10	11	12	10	-						
VOA	5	5	6	-	5	7	5	5	4	3	18						
RFE and BBC are equally influential	12	13	11	-	13	5	13	12	12	15	-						
RFE and VOA are equally influential	3	3	3	-	3	*	3	-	2	3	6						
Other stations	1	1	*	-	*	3	*	4	*	-	-						
None is really influential	2	2	3	-	3	*	3	2	-	3	4						
Other answers	2	2	2	-	2	*	2	2	1	2	-						
Don't know, no answer	22	20	25	43	24	16	24	29	14	11	58						
Total	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100						
Number of cases	490	295	188	7	373	117	373	82	157	200	51						

\* Less than 1 %







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